

# CHRONICLES

OF

## THE NORTH-AMERICAN SAVAGES.

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### TO OUR PATRONS.

Our visit to Ohio in the months of April, May and June, last, has necessarily occasioned a delay of this number of the Chronicles of the Savages; for which, however, we hope to atone by our future punctuality. If the name of our country, heard in a foreign land, never fails to give rise to feelings and associations of pleasure and regret; and if the mere tinkling of a cow-bell from a distant valley, in the ears of Humboldt when in a foreign land, awakened the remembrance of his country, and "was like the echo of distant sounds from beyond the seas, transporting him by its magic power from one hemisphere to the other;" our friends may readily suppose what were the strange wanderings of our imagination, on visiting the land of our nativity, after an absence of twenty-five years. In visiting Marietta and Waterford, with what melancholy delight did we call to mind the happy hours of our youth. And with what pensive enthusiasm did we retrace the haunts of our early life along the banks of the Muskingum, Olivegreen, and many other beautiful streams of Ohio. With what lively pleasure does our imagination rest upon scenes, among which our earlier years were past! How delightful is it, to remember those we esteem and admire; and whose portraits are so indelibly impressed upon the mind, as never to be forgotten! And as Dupaty, when enjoying the exquisite landscape of Tivoli, remembered his friends, and exclaimed, "Why are ye not here?—you who are so dear to me!" even so, while we were spending a Sabbath at the Presbyterian church in Marietta, or while passing the streets

of Zanesville, Columbus, Chillicothe, &c.; we were wont to cry out with all the energy of anxiety: "Why are ye not here? You, the ever dear friends and companions of my infancy and youth! Why cannot I see you, in all your former loveliness?" But alas! many of these dear ones are gone! forever gone! from the world and me! But amidst these melancholy recollections we enjoyed the real happiness of seeing some, and hearing from many more of our dear old friends, from whom we had been separated for more than twenty years. We can never do otherwise, than to cherish the best feelings of our heart, towards the people and the country where we received the first lessons of our life. An ingenious writer remarks, upon the Atlantis of Plato, that the golden age is nothing but the remembrance of a country abandoned, but still the object of fond affection. J. G.

*Carthage, July 16, 1835.*

#### EARLY MODERN HISTORY.

From what time the Indians have resided on this continent, or from what place they migrated hither, are questions of doubtful solution; but it is certain that they were the sole occupants of the country when first discovered by our ancestors: and of all the various principles on which a right to the soil has been founded, there is none superior to immemorial occupancy. The extravagant pretension of Pope Alexander the Sixth, in granting to Ferdinand and Isabella the whole continent of America, not because the country was uninhabited, but because its inhabitants were infidels, was too absurd for general acceptation even in that superstitious age. And though Queen Elizabeth, and James the First, denied the authority of the Pope, to give away the country of infidels, yet, they adopted substantially, the same fanciful distinction, as the foundation of their respective grants. Under the auspices of James the First, in the month of April 1607, the first permanent settlement was made, in what is now called the United States. And under the influence of that blind superstition, which regards the Deity as the partial God of christians, and not as the common father of saints and sa-

vages. Unfounded, however, as these claims to American territory were, and in direct contradiction to the pervading influence of philosophy, reason and truth, which since that period has given us better notions of the rights of mankind, and of the obligations of morality, yet it seems that all the European sovereigns did, by tacit consent, adopt this same system of sporting with the rights of unoffending nations, as a new law of nature.

This first settlement or germ of this great republic, stood alone in an extensive wilderness; about one hundred in number at first, and shortly afterwards reduced by sickness to only thirty eight persons, surrounded by dense forests, which were occupied by many thousands of savages; of whom Dr. Ramsay, Vol. X. p. 43, says: "The Indians at their settlement, performed many acts of kindness towards the English settlers. They instructed them in the manner of planting, and dressing the Indian corn. They carried them upon their backs through rivers and waters; and served them instead of boats and bridges. They gave them much useful information respecting the country; and when the English or their children were lost in the woods, and were in danger of perishing, they conducted them to their wigwams; fed, and restored them to their families and parents. By selling them corn, when pinched with famine, they often relieved their distresses." But it would seem that the Indians were badly requited by our ancestors, for those acts of kindness. We are told in the subsequent pages of the same volume: "The spirit of the new comers was too ungovernable to bear any restraint. Several among them, of better rank, were such dissipated, hopeless young men, as their friends were glad to send out, in quest of whatever fortune might betide them, in a foreign land. Such persons were little capable of the regular subordination, the strict economy, and persevering industry, which their situation required. The Indians, observing their misconduct, not only withheld the supplies of provisions which they were accustomed to furnish, but harassed them with continual hostilities." Capt. John Smith, the most distinguished of the first emigrants, and whose life was more than once preserved by the tears and intreaties of Pochahontas, the virtuous, and favorite daughter of Powhatan, a native king, was much engaged in procuring corn and other provisions from the Indians. "When he could not effect his object by purchase, he would resort to force." (p. 44.) "He once seized an Indian idol Okee, made of skins, and stuffed with

moss; \* for the redemption of which, as much corn was brought him as he required."

Thus we are informed that the Indians would "on one occasion feed Smith and his men on plenty of good oysters, fish, flesh, and wild fowl, and made merry on Christmas around fires that were never better in England." And again on other occasions, the historian says: "the Indians are said to have brought into Jamestown more than a hundred deer and other beasts daily, for several weeks." Yet through the influence of that absurd superstition which disregarded the private rights of infidels, Smith and his party without a blush confess that they were guilty of repeated acts of robbery and violence on these [at first] kind hearted, and benevolent Indians; who were, at last, worn out with the insults of these idle, unruly and vicious new comers, who were continually pushing their *exploring*, as they termed it, but more correctly speaking, their plundering and robbing excursions, still further into the interior of their country. The common term used to express all the different methods of obtaining supplies from the Indians, is "*procured*," which signifies, either to buy, rob, steal, extort, &c. Hence we are told that, "within a few months after the settlement of Jamestown, among other tribes, Smith discovered the Chickohominies, and *procured* a large quantity of provisions from them, at a time when the colonists were in great need of it." But it seems that the idle and unruly, and even some of the council also, complained of him for not having done more, instead of applauding him for having done so much.

"Smith was not a man to submit tamely to reproach. He set off again, therefore in the winter of 1607-8, taking with him a crew sufficient to manage a barge, and a smaller boat proper for the navigation of the upper streams. He ascended the Chickahoming with the barge, as far as it could be forced up, by dint of great labor in cutting away trees, and clearing a passage. Then leaving it in a broad bay, or cove, out of the reach of the savages on the banks, Capt. Smith with two other whites, and two friendly Indians, proceeded higher up in the smaller boat. Those who were left meanwhile in possession of the barge, were ordered on no account, to go on shore until his return. The order was disobeyed; for he was scarcely out of sight and hearing, when the whole

\* We are induced to believe that the "Indian idol Okee," here spoken of, was the Mish-shawn, [most holy thing,] treated of in the first number of this work: which in reality is not an idol, but a repository of sacred records, "made of skins," and to prevent the injury which might occur to its contents from friction, are sometimes "stuffed with moss."

of the crew went ashore. They were very near forfeiting their lives for their rashness. The Indians, to the number of two or three hundred, lay in wait for them among the woods on the bank of the river, under the direction of Opechan-canough, Sachem of the Pamunkies, and reputed brother of Powhatan. One George Cassen was taken prisoner; and the savages soon compelled him to tell them which way Smith had gone. They then put him to death in a cruel manner, and continued the pursuit. The captain, meanwhile, little dreaming of any accident, had gone twenty miles up the river, and was now among the marshes at its source. Here his pursuers came suddenly upon the two Englishmen who had hauled up their boat, and lain down to sleep by a fire on dry land, (while Smith had gone out some distance to kill game with his musket, for supper.) The unfortunate wretches were shot full of arrows, and despatched. The savages then pressed hard upon Smith, and at last overtook him. Finding himself beset by the multitude, he coolly bound to his arm with his garters, the young Indian who had attended him as guide, for a buckler—(what had become of the other does not appear)—and received the enemy's onset so briskly with his fire-arms, that he soon laid three of them dead on the spot, and wounded, and galled many others so effectually, that none appeared anxious to approach him. He was himself wounded slightly in the thigh, and had many arrows sticking in his clothes; but he still kept the enemy at bay. His next movement was to endeavor to sheer off to his boat; but taking more notice of his foe than his path, as he went, he suddenly slipped up to his middle in an oozy creek. Hampered as he was in this awkward position, not an Indian dared venture near him, until, finding himself almost dead with cold, he threw away his arms and surrendered. Then drawing him out, they carried him to the fire, where his men had been slain, carefully chafed his benumbed limbs, and finally restored him to the use of them. The incidents of the ensuing scene are a striking illustration, both of the sagacity of the prisoner, and the simplicity of his captors. He called for their chief—through the intervention of his Indian guide, we suppose—and Opechananough came forward. Smith presented him with a round ivory double compass-dial, which he had carried at his side. The savages were confounded by the playing of the fly and needle, especially as the glass prevented them from touching what they could see so plainly. He then gave them a sort of astronomical lecture, demonstrating “by that globe-like jewel,” as he calls it, the roundness of the earth, the skies, the

sphere of the sun, moon and stars; "and how the sunne did chase the night round about the world continually; the greatnesse of the land and sea, diversitie of nations, varietie of complexions, and how we were to them antipodes, and many other such like matters," his tawny auditors standing all the while motionless, and dumb with amazement.

But within about an hour, they returned to their original purpose of killing him, as they had killed three of his comrades. He was tied to a tree, and the savages drew up in a circle to shoot him. The arrow was already laid upon a hundred bows. But at this moment Opechancanough held up the compass. This was a signal of delay, if not of mercy, and they threw by their arms at once. With great exultation and parade they then conducted the captive to Orapakes, a hunting residence of Powhatan, lying on the north side of Chickahoming swamp, and much frequented by that Sachem and his family, on account of the abundance of game it afforded. The order of procession was a proper *Indian file*. Opecharcanough marching in the centre, had the English swords and muskets carried before him as a trophy. Next followed Smith, led by three stout savages, who held him fast by the arm; while on either side six more marched in file, with their arrows notched, as flank guards.

On arriving at Orapakes, a village consisting of some thirty to forty mat-houses, the women and children flocked out to gaze at a being so different from any they had ever before seen. The warriors, on the other hand, immediately began a grand war-dance, the best description of which is in Smith's own language. "A good time they continued this exercise, and then cast themselves in a ring, dauncing in such severall postures, and singing and yelling out such hellish notes and screeches; being strangely paynted, every one his quiver of arrows, and at his backe a club; on his arme a fox or an otter's skinne, or some such matter for a vambrace: their heads and shoulders paynted red, with oyle and pocones\* mingled together, which scarlet-like colour, made an exceeding handsome show: his bow in his hand, and the skinne of a bird with her wings abroad dryd, tyed on his head; a peece of copper, a white shell, a long feather, with a small rattle growing at the tayls of their snaks tyed, or some such like toy." Thrice the performers stopped to take breath. Smith and the Sachem, meanwhile, standing in the centre. The

\* A small root which turned red by being dried and beat into powder. It was used for swellings, aches, anointing the joints after fatigue and exposure, and painting garments. Beverly calls it *puccoon*.

company then broke up; and the prisoner was conducted to a long matted wigwam, where thirty or forty tall stout savages remained about him as a guard. Ere long, more bread and venison were brought him, than would have served twenty men. "I think," says the captain himself, "my stomache, at that time, was not very good." He ate something, however, and the remainder was put into baskets, and swung from the roof of the wigwam, over his head.

About midnight these liberal provisioners set their fare before him again, never tasting a morsel themselves, all the while. But, in the morning, when they brought in a fresh reinforcement, they ate the fragments of former meals, and swung up the residue of the last one as before. So little reason had the captain to complain of famine, that he began seriously to believe they were fattening him for the slaughter. He suffered occasionally from the cold, and would have suffered more, but for an unexpected relief. An Indian, named Mocasseter, brought him his *goune*, as Smith calls it—perhaps a fur mantle, or a blanket—and gave it to him, professedly in requital of certain beads and toys which Smith had given him at Jamestown, immediately after his arrival in Virginia.\*

Two days afterwards, he was violently assaulted, and but for his guard would have been killed, by an old Indian whose son had been wounded in the skirmish which took place at his capture. They conducted him to the death-bed of the poor wretch, where he was found breathing his last. Smith told them he had a kind of water at Jamestown which might effect a cure, but they would not permit him to go for it, and the subject was soon forgotten. Within a few days, they began to make great preparations for assaulting the English colony by surprise. They craved Smith's advice and assistance in that proceeding, offering not only life and liberty for his services, but as much land for a settlement, and as many women for wives as he wanted—such an opinion had they formed of his knowledge and prowess. He did everything in his power to discourage their design, by telling of the mines, cannon, and various other stratagems, and engines of war, used by the English. He could only succeed in prevailing upon several of them to carry a note for him to Jamestown, (under pretence of getting some toys,) in which he informed his countrymen of his own situation, and the intention of the savages, and re-

\* A fine illustration of that principle of gratitude, which is as proverbially characteristic of the Indians as their revenge, and for similar reasons. No favor is wasted upon them, and no insult or injury is forgiven. The anecdote following this in the text, is an instance in point.

quested them to send him without fail, by the bearers certain articles which he named. These were to be deposited at a particular spot in the woods, near Jamestown. The messengers started off, we are told, in as severe weather as could be, of frost and snow, and arrived at Jamestown. There, seeing men sally out from the town to meet them, as Smith had told them would be the case, they were frightened, and ran off. But the note was left behind; and so coming again in the evening, they found the articles at the appointed place, and then returned homeward, in such haste as to reach Orapakes in three days after they had left it.

All thoughts of an attack upon the colony, being now extinguished in the astonishment and terror excited by the feats of Smith, they proceeded to lead him about the country in show and triumph. First they carried him to the tribe living on the Youghtanund, since called the Pamankey river; then to the Mattaponies, the Piankatunks, the Nantaughtacunds on the Rappahannoc, and the Nominies on Potomac river. Having completed this route, they conducted him through several other nations, to Opeckancanough's own habitation at Pamunkey; where, with frightful howlings, and many strange ceremonies, they 'conjured' him three days in order to ascertain, as they told him, whether he intended them well or ill.\* An idea may be formed of these proceedings, which took place under Opechancanough's inspection, from the exercises for one day, as described by the captive himself.

Early in the morning, a great fire was made in a long house, and mats spread upon each side of it, on one of which the prisoner was seated. His body-guard then left the house, "and presently came skipping in a great grim fellow, all paynted over with coale, mingled with oyle; and many snakes and wesels skinnes stufed with mosse, and all their tayls tyed together, so as they met in the croune of his head in a tassell; and round about the tassell was a coronet of feathers, the skinnes hanging round about his backe and shoulders, and in a manner covered his face; with a hellish voyce, and a rattle in his hand." This personage commenced his invocation with a great variety of gestures, postures, grimaces and exclamations; and concluded with drawing a circle of meal round the fire. Then rushed in three more performers of the same description, their bodies painted half red and half black, their eyes white, and their faces streaked with red patches, apparently in imitation of English whiskers. These three having

\* *Sith*, p. 52.

danced about for a considerable time, made way for three more with red eyes, and white streaks upon black faces. At length all seated themselves opposite to the prisoner, three on the right hand of the first named functionary, (who appeared to be the chief priest, and ringleader,) and three on the left, when a song was commenced, accompanied with a violent use of the rattles; upon which the chief priest laid down five *wheat-corns*,\* and began an oration, straining his arms and hands so that he perspired freely, and his veins swelled. At the conclusion, all gave a groan of assent, laid down three grains more, and renewed the song. This went on until the fire was twice encircled. Other ceremonies of the same character ensued, and last of all was brought on, towards evening, a plentiful feast of the best provisions they could furnish. The circle of meal was said to signify their country; the circles of corn the bounds of the sea, and so on. The world, according to their theory, was round and flat, like a trencher, and themselves located precisely in the midst.

After this, they showed Smith a bag of gun-powder, which had probably been taken from the boat, and which they were carefully preserving till the next spring, to plant with their corn—"because they would be acquainted with the nature of that seede." Opitchipan, another brother of Powhatan—of whom we have here the first mention—invited him to *his* house, and treated him sumptuously; but no Indian on this or any other occasion, would eat with him. The fragments were put up in baskets; and upon his return to Opechancanough's wigwam, the Sachem's wives and their children flock'd about him for their portions, "as a due by custom, to be merry with such fragments."

At last they carried him to Werowocomoco, where was Powhatan himself. This residence of his, lay on the north side of York river, in Gloster county, nearly opposite the mouth of Green's creek, and about twenty-five miles below the mouth of the river. It was at this time his favorite village, though afterwards, not coveting the near neighborhood of the English, he retired to Orapakes.

\* An inadvertancy, we presume; or the words may be used rather loosely to signify what had as yet no distinctive name. Indian corn must be meant. Or perhaps it was grains of wild rice.

*To be continued.*

**RECENT MODERN HISTORY.**

A succinct account of the late hostilities of the Saw-kee and Musquawkee Indians; on the Upper Mississippi river, commonly called, "The Black Hawk war."

**INTRODUCTION.**

It will be the purpose of the writer of this article, to confine himself to facts, so far as they are known to himself, or derived from unquestionable authority. The peculiar circumstances connected with the history of every difficulty between the white people and the Indians, are such as to render every account of the same, suspicious. The great difficulty attending every measure, necessary in obtaining correct Indian intelligence, is only known to those who make the attempt. And to follow up the beaten path of popular prejudices, for the purpose of securing the applause of the ignorant, and malevolent, is of such every-day occurrence, as at this time, to afford but few inducements to any writer on this subject.

We trust that a desire to publish the truth of this affair, will be a sufficient apology for troubling our patrons with this article.

That the causes which led to these difficulties in the West, are still unknown to the great mass of the American people, is evident. And no citizen of another State has ventured to enquire into this matter, without meeting a volley of invectives from our north-western oracle, who seems determined to be believed; though it is within their own knowledge, that the statements heretofore published by them, are not correct. We challenge the credulity of any man to believe, that Ke-o-kuk's sister was taken prisoner with the Black Hawk party, when at the same time he knows, that Ke-o-kuk had but two sisters, and these were about 300 miles from that place, where one was said to have been taken prisoner. Who can believe, "that the citizens near Rock Island, had been living *nearly three years* in peace and quietness, upon lands which they had purchased from the General Government?" in view of the fact, that these lands had not been two years in market, at that time? And also, while the citizens say in their petition, that, "they, the Indians, almost entirely destroyed all our crops of corn, potatoes, &c., *last fall*." And again, eight deponents swore that "the Sac Indians did, through the last year,

repeatedly threaten to kill them," &c. Is this living in "*peace and quietness?*"

Such ignorant, or willful misrepresentations, as have been imposed on the public, under the various characters, of newspaper descriptions of battles, narratives, causes, &c., of the late Indian war; "life of Black-hawk; Black-hawk war," &c. &c., if uttered upon any other subject than Indian affairs, we believe, would have long since been exposed to the ridicule and contempt of the public. But such are our prejudices against this unfortunate portion of the human race, that no calumnies are too gross to be credited against them.

It is certainly matter of sincere regret that, even among those individuals who occupy some of the higher offices in our government, there are some who take advantage of the weakness and incapacity of these people, and compel them to become their own accusers, as is evinced in the very first clause of the preamble to the "Treaty concluded at Fort Armstrong, in the State of Illinois, on the 21st day of September, 1832;" which reads thus: "Whereas, under certain lawless and desperate leaders, a formidable band, constituting a large portion of the Sac and Fox nation, left their own country in April last, and in violation of Treaties, commenced an unprovoked war upon unsuspecting and defenceless citizens of the United States, sparing neither age nor sex," &c. Here the Indians are made to accuse themselves in stronger terms, than any of the affidavit makers had ever thought of doing.

The propriety of this broad declaration, can only be sustained on the ground upon which all other legal fictions rest. As for instance an individual has erected a *small* house, which annoys his neighbor; who, desiring to have the same removed, presents the case to a grand jury—the offender is accused in high sounding terms, of having committed a fearful crime with "force and arms," and that too, to the great "displeasure of Almighty God," &c: when in truth, no outrage has been committed; and only a partial insult offered to one set of delicate nerves, is all the crime; and yet the accused stands charged with having offended both earth and heaven! But where such fictions or falsehoods are liable to be traversed, by other legal proceedings, they are less exceptionable, than in the case now under consideration, where no further proceedings are to be held in the case; but, this document is to be filed in the archives of our nation, as a part of the history of this people, and will, in a greater or less degree, influence the conduct of the Americans, not only towards them, but also, towards their posterity, through generations yet to come, if they are

not sooner exterminated. It is not our aim to appear as the eulogist of the savage race, neither do we intend to withhold from them the tribute of historical justice. And on this middle ground, we shall fearlessly pursue our course, though "the galled jade should wince."—Ed.

#### "BLACK-HAWK WAR."

It is true that our government has enacted benevolent laws for the relief of American Indians, and has, from time to time, prescribed the most humane rules for the regulation of our intercourse with them; and it is equally true, that those laws and regulations have been unfaithfully administered, if administered at all.

It will be proper here to remark, that it is not our purpose to suspect, much less to accuse our *government* of any want of honor, justice, or magnanimity towards the Indians; but we do say, that the benevolent intentions of our government towards this people, have been hitherto thwarted by the avarice, cupidity, and ignorance of those with whom these matters have been entrusted. We shall, therefore, proceed to a consideration of some of the most potent causes which produced the late unfortunate hostilities between the white people on the Upper Mississippi, and a part of the Sauke and Musquawke or Fox tribe of Indians.

The first matter connected with this subject, which presents itself for our consideration, will be the disputed land question. The reader has, probably, seen or heard, that "these savage monsters!" had sold their land to the general government, that the general government had sold it again to certain "citizens who had opened good farms, built houses, and had been living in *peace* and *quietness* for nearly three years, when *these wretched monsters in human shape*, attempted to drive them from their homes." Upon these, and similar assertions, it is quite possible the reader has long since made up his opinion as to the guilt of the accused. There can be no impropriety at least in reviewing this matter, and if upon an impartial examination of the evidence, we find these assertions supported, we shall also adopt the same opinion. But if on the contrary, we find these bold calumnies unsupported by the evidence in the case, we trust that we shall be excused for entertaining a different opinion.

We shall be best enabled to arrive at our object by taking the case from the very root: in pursuance of which, we shall refer the reader to a "Treaty made and entered into at St.

Louis, in the district of Louisiana, between William Henry Harrison, Governor of the Indian Territory, &c. &c., on the one part, and the Chief and head men of the united Sac and Fox tribes of Indians on the other part."

ARTICLE I. The United States, receive the united Sac and Fox tribes into their friendship and protection: and the said tribes agree to consider themselves under the protection of the United States, and no other power whatsoever.

ART. II. The general boundary line between the lands of the United States and of the said Indian tribes, shall be as follows, to wit: Beginning on a point on the Mississippi river opposite to the mouth of the Gasconade river, thence in a direct course so as to strike the river Jefferson, at a distance of thirty miles from its mouth, and down the said Jefferson to the Mississippi. Thence up the Mississippi to the mouth of the Quisconsin river, and up the same to a point which shall be thirty six miles in a direct line from the mouth of said river; thence by a direct line to a point where the Fox river, a branch of the Illinois, leaves the small Lake called Lakaagon; thence down the Fox river to the Illinois river, and down the same to the Mississippi. And the said tribes, for and in consideration of the friendship and protection of the United States which is now extended to them, and goods to the value of two thousand two hundred and thirty-four dollars and fifty cents, which are now delivered, and of the annuity hereinafter stipulated to be paid, do hereby cede and relinquish forever to the United States, all the lands included within the above described boundary.

ART. III. In consideration of the cession and relinquishment of land, made in the preceding article, the United States will deliver to the said tribes, at the town of St. Louis, or some other convenient place on the Mississippi, yearly, and every year, goods suited to the circumstances of the Indians, of the value of one thousand dollars: six hundred of which are intended for the Sacs, and four hundred for the Foxes; reckoning the value at the first cost of the goods in the city or place in the United States, where they shall be procured," &c. [This article further provides that the Indians may receive a part of the above annuity in domestic animals, implements of husbandry, &c., if they desire so to do, at any annual delivery of the goods.]

ART. IV. The United States will never interrupt the said tribes in the possession of the lands which they rightfully claim; but will, on the contrary, protect them in the quiet enjoyment of the same against their own citizens, and against

all other white persons who may intrude upon them. And the said tribes do hereby engage that they never will sell their lands or any part thereof, to any sovereign power but the United States, nor to the citizens or subjects of any other sovereign power, nor to the citizens of the United States.

ART. V. [This article provides for the amicable settlement of any difficulties which may arise to either party from acts of violence, murder, robbery, stealing, &c., done by the other party; so that no private revenge or retaliation shall take place, &c.]

ART. VI. If any citizen of the United States, or other white person, should form a settlement upon lands which are the property of the Sac and Fox tribes, upon complaint being made thereof to the superintendant, or other person having charge of the affairs of the Indians, such intruder shall forthwith be removed.

ART. VII. As long as the lands, which are now ceded to the United States, remain their property, the Indians belonging to the said tribes shall enjoy the privilege of living and hunting upon them.

[The 8th and 9th articles relate to the establishment of regular traders, and the suppression of independent traders in the Indian country. The 10th article provides for a speedy adjustment of all differences, and a restoration of peace established on a firm and lasting basis, between the Sacs and Foxes on one part, and the Great and Little Osages on the other part.]

ART. XI. As it is probable that the government of the United States will establish a military post at or near the mouth of the Ouisconsin river, and as the land on the lower side of the river may not be suitable for that purpose, the said tribes hereby agree that a fort may be built, either on the upper side of the Ouisconsin, or on the right bank of the Mississippi, as the one or the other may be found most convenient, and a tract of land not exceeding two miles square, shall be given for that purpose." This treaty then concludes in the usual form and bears date at St. Louis the 3d day of November, 1804.

Having presented the reader with the original document, upon which this dispute rests, it remains for us to consider the several allegations of the parties. And first, it is alledged on the part of the white people, that they have by their legally authorized commissioner, (Gov. Harrison,) purchased the country described in the 2d article of the preceding treaty. And further, that at several subsequent treaties with the above

named Sac and Fox tribe, to wit: at a treaty which was held at St. Louis, the 13th of May 1816, with the Sacs of Rock river, by William Clark, Ninian Edwards, and Auguste Chouteau, United States Commissioners; and also at a treaty with the Sacs residing on the river Missouri, held by the same commissioners at Portage de Sioux, on the 12th day of September, 1815, &c., the following article has been inserted, to wit: "The Sac and Fox tribes or nation of Indians do hereby assent to recognize, establish, and confirm the treaty of St. Louis, which was concluded on the 3d of November, 1804." "From which it is manifest that the Sacs and Foxes have long since sold, and received their pay for all that tract of country which they have since claimed the right of residing upon."

It would appear from this *ex parte* examination of the case, that the Indians have no shadow of justification for their conduct on this occasion. But on hearing the other evidences, their course may appear less exceptionable.

The right and power of acting, on the part of the United States, by their duly authorized agent, Governor Harrison, has never been disputed by either party: but that assumed power and arrogated right of acting, in concluding a treaty of cession with the United States, so far as Quas-quaw-ma, together with all the other pretended Indian delegates, who subscribed the same, is concerned, has never been recognized, even by our government, in any other case than the one now under consideration. That the above named Quas-quaw-ma, a Sac Indian, who being better acquainted with the white people, than any other principal man in their tribe, as may very justly be inferred from the fact, that his village was nearest the white frontier population, went to St. Louis, attended by some few of his associates, for the purpose of transacting a very different business, about the time of the date of the above recited treaty, is also admitted. But that they were the representatives of their tribe, or that they were, by any authority or power vested in them, either by inheritance or delegation, authorized to conclude a treaty, or transact any other business, (except the obtaining the liberty of one of their nation who was then a prisoner in St. Louis,) is now, and ever has been denied, without fear of contradiction.

Hence the foregoing treaty was never recognized by the Indians, as of any force, or in any wise obligatory on their tribe: and the first attempt make by our Indian department to force these tribes of Indians to a recognition of the treaty made with the aforesaid imposters, was at the treaty at Portage de Sioux, of the 12th of September, 1815. It will be re-

collected by the reader, that the last named treaty was at the close of our late war with Great Britain, and that the Saw-ke and Musquaw-ke Indians had been the allies of our enemy in the aforesaid war. Hence the ostensible object of this council was, to conclude a treaty of peace and amity between the United States and those tribes. But when one of the commissioners on the part of our government, had addressed the chiefs and warriors of considerable length, and, among other subjects to which he called their attention, had spoken of the benevolence and magnanimity of the Americans towards them, in permitting them to hunt and reside on the lands which they had long since sold, and from which the white people might have expelled them without injustice; and having dwelt with unusual emphasis upon what he termed the black ingratitude of the Indians towards the whites, in having, while thus living upon their bounty, and enjoying their kind offices, arrayed themselves under the standard of their enemies, and raised the tomahawk against their benefactors; the well known war chief Muk-e-tah, Me-se-kah-kah, (Black Sparrow, but now called Black-hawk,) arose, and in reply to the Commissioner, said, "he had not known till now, the object of the Americans in calling this great council; but now it had appeared manifest from what had been said by the commissioner who had just addressed them, that they were called upon by the Americans to leave their own homes, and to come all the way to Portage de Sioux for no other purpose but merely to listen to these commissioners' lying." Whereupon one of the commissioners arose, evidently nettled at the impudence of the savage warrior, and commanding him to be silent, adjourned the council until the next day; in the mean while informing the council, that he desired them, (the Indians,) to take the matter into serious consideration among themselves, and to be prepared in the morning at the opening of the council, which would be convened by the usual signal, to give a definite answer to the question, "do you all, or a majority of you approve of what your orator has said?" And if you do approve, continued he, the council will then adjourn, and you shall be conducted, or permitted to go in safety to your own homes: but remember, said he, that so soon as your foot reaches your own country, "*you are at war with the United States.*"

*To be continued.*